

ANATHEMA

VOL. VII ISSUE III

FREE

APRIL 2021

ADVANCES IN STATE REPRESSION

As we look towards another potentially hot summer, the state has already begun preparing for repressing further movement for Black lives and against policing. The following article breaks down some of what we know so far about advances in police technology and state repression.

As of this writing, Biden has proposed a \$753,000,000,000 Pentagon budget, a significant increase from Trump's 2020 budget. Biden's administration has also sped up flow of military gear to police departments across the country. In the first quarter of his presidency, he's given \$34 million worth of additional military equipment to cops, compared to \$25 million last summer during Trump's presidency (for the record, none of these figures are anywhere near the \$418 million worth of transfers under Obama in 2015, following Ferguson and other uprisings against policing).

The police and military have begun publicly experimenting with robotics. In February and again this past month, the NYPD was seen patrolling with a robot in the shape of a dog. The French military has recently been testing the robotic dog in combat. "Spot" is also being used by the oil company BP to inspect oil rigs in the Gulf of Mexico and to read instrument panels; the National Grid is using it to inspect substations. The firm that is building these robots is called Boston Dynamics; it is based in Waltham, Massachusetts and owned by Hyundai Motor Company. According to Boston Dynamics' website, the robot's battery is located in its underbelly and secured in place with a single latch. Testing of a robotic dog has also been observed outside of Pennovation, at 34th and Gray's Ferry in South Philly, where some mil-

itary drone technology was previously developed. We can expect police and military aircraft to continue to play a crucial role in surveilling protesters and insurgents. Although most flight-tracking services (like flihtadar24) censor most police aircraft, the crowdsourced flight-tracking website ADS-B-Exchange (adsbexchange.com) doesn't filter those out and instead flags aircraft operated by the U.S. military, including National Guard units. The twitter account @lemonodor also keeps track of aircraft that are detected as having a circular flight path over cities.

At least 20 surveillance and reconnaissance military helicopter flights flew over demonstrators during the first two weeks of riots and protests in June 2020; 11 of these flights were in Philadelphia. Footage collected with the Pennsylvania National Guard's helicopters was transferred to law enforcement on the ground in order to counteract how stretched thin the widespread protesting had caused policing to be. In Seattle, public requests about aircraft surveillance found that "the plane's FLIR thermal imaging camera was providing commanders at the protest with views of the streets and activities happening around the neighborhood. When there were reports of people possibly throwing objects

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"Crow Song"

In the arid sun, over the field
where the corn has rotted and then
dried up, you flock and squabble.
Not much here for you, my people,
but there would be
if
if

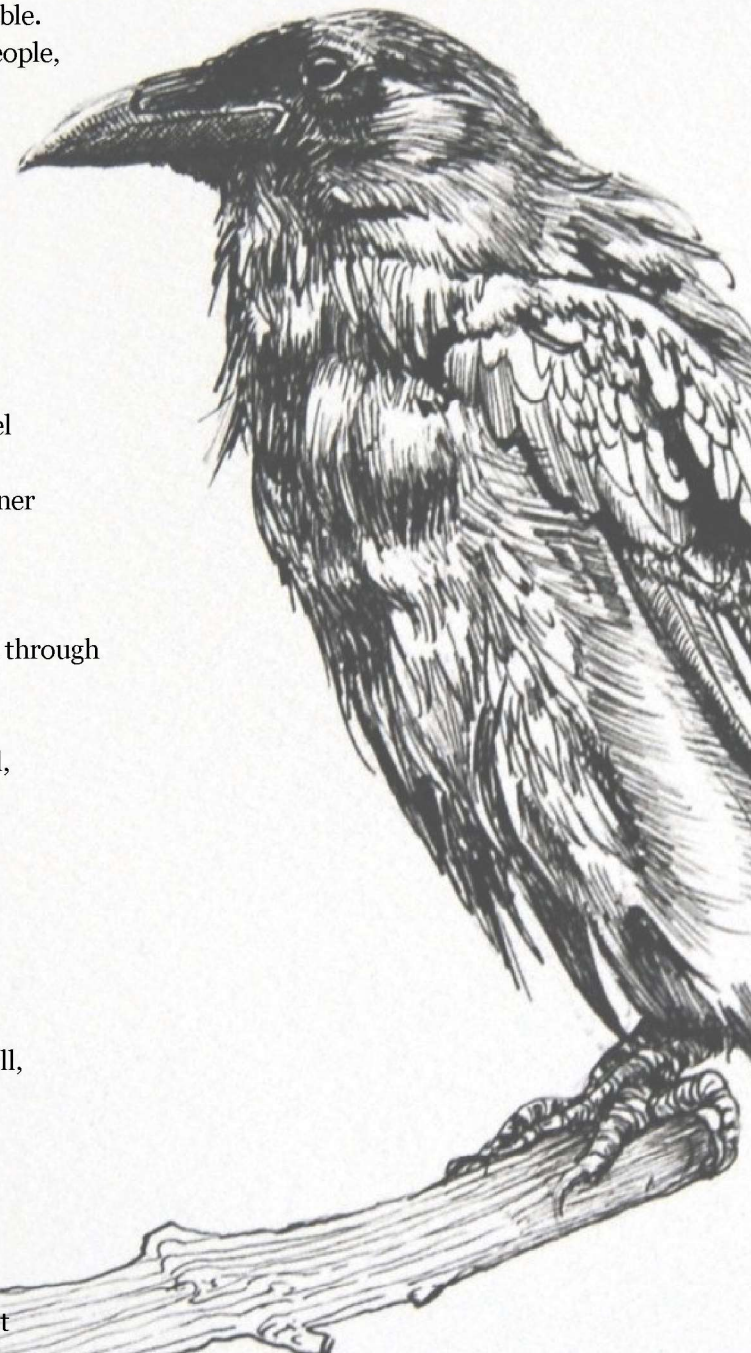
In my austere black uniform
I raised the banner
which decreed Hope
and which did not succeed
and which is not allowed.
Now I must confront the angel
who says Win,
who tells me to wave any banner
that you will follow

for you ignore me, my
baffled people, you have been through
too many theories
too many stray bullets
your eyes are gravel, skeptical,
in this hard field
you pay attention only
to the rhetoric of seed
fruit stomach elbow.

You have too many leaders
you have too many wars,
all of them pompous and small,
you resist only when you feel
like dressing up,
you forget the sane corpses...

I know you would like a god
to come down and feed you
and punish you. That overcoat
on sticks is not alive
there are no angels,
but the angels of hunger,
prehensile and soft as gullets
Watching you
my people, I become cynical,
you have defrauded me of hope
and left me alone with politics...

Margaret Atwood



WHAT WENT DOWN

Inauguration Day - Two SUVs belonging to ICE and CBP have their tires slashed, their windows broken, and are painted. "It's imperative that we don't wait and we support each other with words and actions."

Mid-March - Revolutionary abolitionists in Harrisburg, PA unfurl an anti-prison banner in solidarity with Black political prisoners and protesters facing repression. "Whether a red or blue chain, the shackle remains the same."

March 27 - A black bloc marches through Center City shouting slogans against racism, police, and capitalism in solidarity against anti-Asian racism. "This kind of relatively low stress action builds confidence, as well as experience moving & deciding together in the street."

March 31 - People show up to the Center City PATCO station, preventing a service day from becoming a houseless camp sweep.

March 31 - Philly ABC hosts a letter-writing event for political prisoner Fran Thompson.

April 7 - Alexander N Gross of American Imperial Republicans is doxxed.

April 7 - Five PPD cops shoot and kill 24 year old James Alexander in North Philly during a traffic stop. One cop is shot in the foot.

April 11 - Anti-fascists protest in Center City against a "White Lives Matter" march that never showed up. Patriot Front and New Jersey European Heritage Association stickers are taken down at Marconi Plaza.

April 12 - Protesters block the street in response to Office of Homeless Services and PPD locking off and sweeping houseless people camping at Reading Terminal Market.

April 13 - Protesters march through Center City and South Philly against the police killing of Daunte Wright in Brooklyn Center, MN.

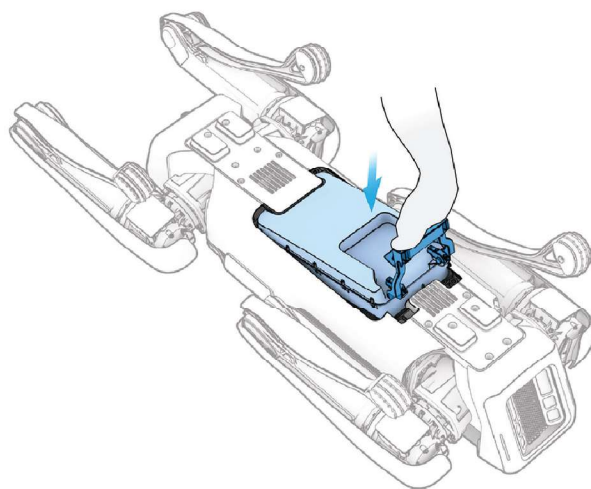
April 16 - PPD increase police presence throughout the city in the lead up to the Derek Chauvin trial verdict. PA governor Wolf authorized 1000 National Guard troops to deploy to Philly.

April 17 - Protests against police killings march through Center City. ★

ADVANCES IN STATE REPRESSION CONTINUED

from a nearby roof over night, the plane was able to help police find the trespassers."

Despite the potential illegality of thermal imaging, in this day and age it's wise to assume that law enforcement is using it if they're looking for you. If you can put terrain (hills, etc) or solid walls between you (i.e. not drywall or just a single layer of brick), that will conceal you. A thermal camera looking down can see through a light forest canopy, but not through old trees with a dense canopy, or heavy undergrowth. Bare skin stands out more than clothing. In an emergency, setting things on fire – especially old tires or anything else that throws off a lot of soot and burning particles – will make the imaging a lot messier and help you get away. Contrary to popular belief, mylar or "space" blankets will not necessarily block infrared sensors; they will more likely spread the heat around so it's no longer in the exact shape of your body, but will still show that something is there.



How to remove the battery from a robot dog

Locally, Mayor Kenney has announced that the city will not be increasing police spending, but his proposed city budget increases police resources via other departments' budgets. As we noted elsewhere, the Philly Police Department has also begun preparing for unrest following the Derek Chauvin verdict by recruiting community organizations to assist them in deescalating protests. This move will embolden the white vigilante responses that informally popped up last year; it will

between comrades, to attack directly this stinking corpse that attempts to resurrect itself, to further imprison us. Counter-information is an integral part of this international co-ordination, to allow those who want to act for freedom in this world to see the signals of complicity in every language possible, to speak the one language of insurrection and anarchy. There must be a re-energization of the international counter-information network, to once again become a threat internationally, after the repressive reaction that seeks to isolate anarchists from each other, not just around the world but even locally. The 325 Collective continues to move upon this path we already tread; even now, we continue with our publication projects, including a new re-print of '325 #12,' a new expanded issue of 'Dark Nights' and further projects for the future internationally. They will not silence or stop us and we will have our revenge!

About the website, we do not know yet whether it will return, it is very clear to us that if it is resurrected as '325' anywhere else online, that the authorities will immediately target it once again. This also means that we could put at risk any provider in the future, as well as put other counter-information and movement projects at risk of being shut down as happened with the recent repressive attack. Who knows where all this will take us? What we do know is that we are far from backing down, not one step back, in the face of the enemy. Maybe it might be best to revert to the traditional printed word, to see peoples' faces, to speak words, to conspire. We will not say never to the site returning, neither to it re-manifesting itself as a new project, only time will tell.

For now, our absolute solidarity with the comrades of nostate.net & Act For Freedom Now! Along with all the other counter-info projects affected.

NOTHING IS OVER, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

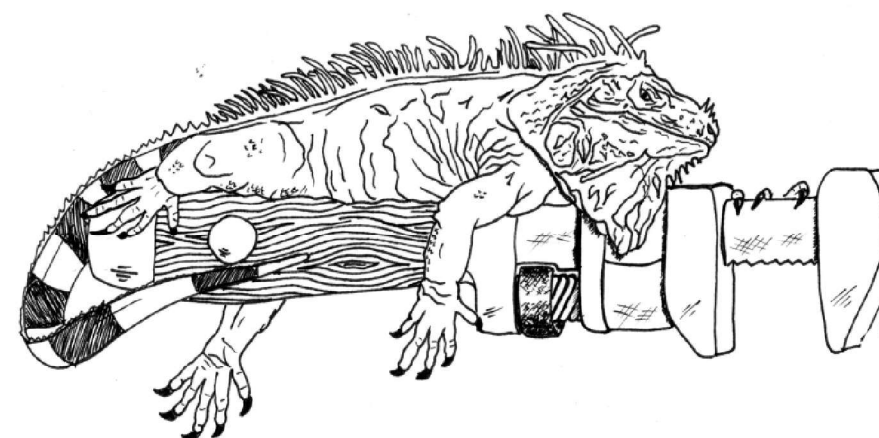
325 Collective ★



March 6 - "Portland Public Schools headquarters vandalized in 'malicious act of arson and property destruction'

Multiple school district vehicles were set on fire, office windows were broken and graffiti was scrawled on the district headquarters [...]

The vandalism came as the district is preparing to return students to school buildings."



JUNE 11TH

An International Day of
Solidarity with Marius Mason
& Long-Term Anarchist Prisoners

325 ON REPRESSION OF INTERNATIONAL COUNTER-INFORMATION

On March 29, 2021, the Dutch police raided the data center that holds the nostate.net server, seizing the server itself as part of a criminal investigation into ‘terrorism.’ Nostate.net is a collective that provided a platform for international movement websites from prisoner solidarity groups, multiple campaign collectives, anti-summit pages and international counter-information. Significant sites that used nostate.net as a platform that have been targeted by this repressive attack by the Dutch police are Anarchist Black Cross Berlin, Montreal Counter-Info, Northshore Counter-Info, Act For Freedom Now! (now re-activated on noblogs.org <https://actforfree.noblogs.org/>) and 325.

We as a collective are aware that this was not just an attack by the Dutch police, but was done in coordination with the Counter Terrorism Unit of the United Kingdom in connection with their recent repressive attacks upon the anarchist circles in this country. Not only have they been threatening ourselves, but recently threatened nostate.net unless they shut down our site. Along with this, they demanded information be given to them of the identity of anyone involved in 325. The extent that the authorities will go to attack us

and anyone they suspect of aiding us is of no surprise to us; the examples through history of state forces repressing anyone who dares to stand and fight them are numerous.

This repressive attack should be seen as an attack upon all counter-information, on anarchist circles internationally. Under the present ongoing environment of Covid-19 and the repressive actions of states around the world, it is no surprise to us that they work together on an international level; the recent repression against anarchist comrade Gabriel Pomba da Silva, with co-operation between Spanish, Italian and Portuguese states, is a more than obvious recent example. Our minds cast back to the repression of Indymedia in Germany and Greece, as well as not so long ago, the imprisonment of comrades involved in Culmine, ParoleArmata and Croce Nera Anarchica in Italy. Through time, the anarchist movement internationally has had its modes of communicating to the people attacked with countless anarchist publications having their premises raided, comrades arrested and even publications being censored, even destroyed, such as in the not too distant past with Alfredo M. Bonnanno’s ‘Armed Joy’ in Italy, even Conspiracy of Cells of Fire’s ‘The Sun Still Rises’ in Greece.

It is also no coincidence that this repressive attack occurs now after our recent publication of ‘325 #12 - Against the Fourth and Fifth Industrial Revolutions.’ This publication that we feel hits to the core of what the states and capitalism are pushing forward, before and even more so now, under the cover of the Covid-19 pandemic, is a direct threat to their plans of subjugation, of robotizing and automizing everything. Their attack has momentarily affected our distribution of the publication both online and physically, but it has inevitably failed. The technocrats that want to shape our world into one heaving technological militarized prison society are being exposed, not only by ourselves but by the already growing attacks internationally upon their infrastructure. This is what they fear, that this can grow and this is why they have come after us. From what we know, the police who are trying to hunt us down are relying upon tactics from their old repressive book of tricks, attempting to get others to snitch and shutting down counter-information. Ever since their ‘Operation Rhone’ aimed at attacking the anarchist circles in Bristol, they had only caught one person involved in an attack, but not anyone involved in the Informal Anarchist Federation or the other countless anarchist attacks. Clearly, they have not repressed any fire of rebellion as the riot, attack on the police station and burning of cop cars last month shows.

It has been silent for too long on this island of conformity, while the world outside starts to burn again; those embers are still glowing and we feel their warmth. More than ever, there is an absolute need for co-ordination internationally

also likely exacerbate the divisions within black populations and counteract the possibility and effectiveness of further rebellions. We can look to Minnesota, which has already been experiencing renewed uprisings and whose police force has employed at least one local community organization (the “Minnesota Freedom Fighters”) to stop protesters from “turning violent,” as an example of what this will look like in practice.

In terms of security culture and surveillance of anarchist activity, it’s important for us to be careful when assessing the information that law enforcement chooses to reveal to us. When police investigations are revealed to be inept or relatively unsophisticated, as with some of the intelligence gathering on protesters here last summer, we should conclude not that the police are farther behind than we expected, but that they are deliberately leaking information that might lead us to drop our guard.

In fact, Philadelphia has an entire operation dedicated to advanced intelligence gathering on its people — the Delaware Valley Intelligence Center (or “fusion center”), located at 2800 S. 20th Street in South Philly. When the DVIC was proposed, it was common for opponents to emphasize how little of a contribution the new facility would make to policing in the city, as though it was simply a waste of the city’s resources. The truth, though, is that we don’t really know what is going on in the DVIC. The only conceivable new contribution it’d be making would involve innovations in surveillance (like biometrics) and massive privacy violations, and the state is not going to reveal to the public what technologies and resources it is using to surveil and repress us.

According to local publication The Declaration back in 2013, “One facet of a fusion center’s day-to-day operations involves either civilian or privatized intelligence analysts examining ‘suspicious activity reports’ filed by law enforcement. These analysts then create threat assessments based on these reports” that they then share with law enforcement. We get more of what a sense of this looks like from the Nationwide SAR Initiative (NSI), which has 16 behaviors that authorities claim are “indicative of terrorist activity.” When an individual is identified with any of these pre-crime behaviors, that makes them eligible for targeted state surveillance. The DVIC has a whole sector that is dedicated to investigating what they call “terrorism.”

Anarchist activity, whether we choose to approach it

as part of a broader social movement or as clandestine individual actions, will always be counteracted by some sort of repression, if it proves powerful enough. We have countless examples before us, today and in the past, of how this works, and we have the capacity to consider in advance what the state’s responses to ours and others’ actions might be. Let’s try to study these examples and think in advance about how we might in turn counteract those responses so that our moves forward make us stronger, rather than weaker.



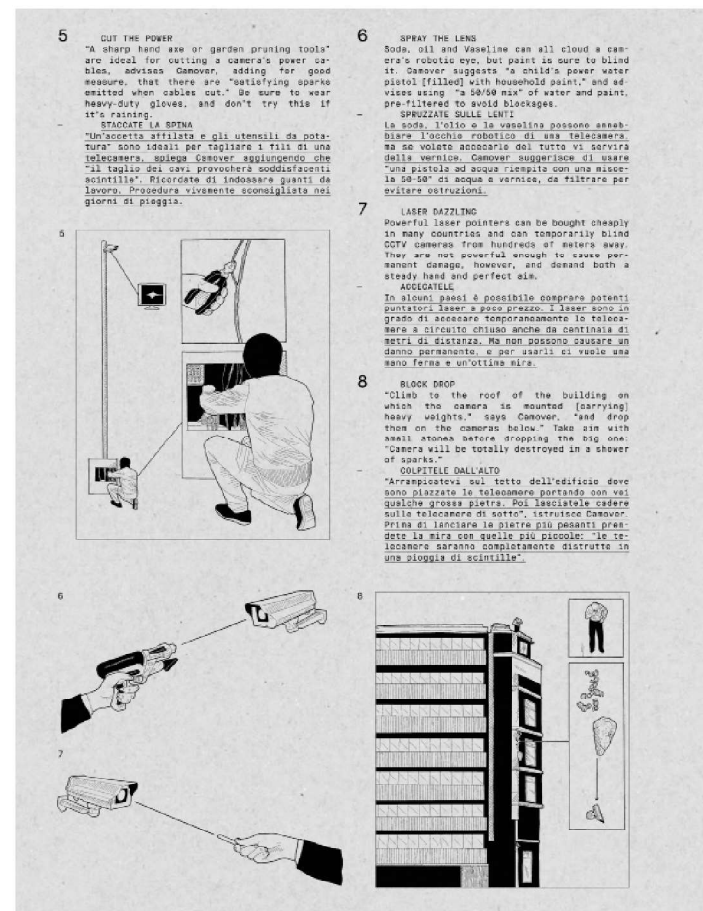
LOCAL REPRESSION UPDATES

Anthony Smith, a prominent Black liberation activist, has released a statement to his supporters regarding his case. His trial has been pushed back to September of this year. Anthony is currently on house arrest and wearing a monitor. He is accused of setting fire to a police car during the May 2020 unrest against the killing of George Floyd. Black liberation prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal released a statement thanking his supporters. This follows his lawyers filing to have his appeals reopened and his supporters organized an email and phone zap demanding his freedom. Mumia is scheduled to undergo an open-heart surgery April 19th.

The Philadelphia Police Department sent out emails on April 8th to registered community organizations asking for help policing potential unrest following the Derek Chauvin trial. Up Against the Law has released a statement condemning the emails and is offering support to any registered community organization that wishes to turn down the request without reprisal.

Additionally, PPD is increasing police presence throughout certain neighborhoods and the governor has authorized the deployment of the National Guard. One thousand members of the guard are authorized to remain in Philadelphia for 90 days, a time period that could be extended or shortened at governor Wolf’s discretion. As of mid-April, police have been seen along 52nd St in West Philly and in Center City in higher than usual numbers.

PPD officers Christopher Burton, Charles McCairns, Micheal Braun, David Tamamoto, and Matthew Ponente shot and killed 24 year old Black man James Alexander following a traffic stop in North Philly. Police pulled over a car James was in with three other



people that allegedly ran a stop sign on April 7th. Police say a shootout occurred as James fled and shot at them. Police fired on James 28 times. He died at Albert Einstein Medical Center. One officer was hospitalized after being shot in the foot. It was later discovered that police had misidentified James Alexander, incorrectly believing that he had a warrant.

Emails obtained through a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit by a group called Citizens for Responsibility & Ethics in Washington reveal that PPD asked for help from the DEA monitoring protests last year. The DEA then carried out on-the-ground and digital surveillance of protestors. The inter-agency collaboration lasted at least between June 2 and June 7 2020.

A 2013 law banning the creation of guns or gun parts using 3-D printers has been amended to include regulation of non-3-D printed gun parts in Philadelphia. The amendment makes it illegal to buy, sell, or transfer unfinished receivers (commonly called 80% lowers) and the tools and machines that would complete said receivers into functional gun parts without a federal license. The law does not prohibit the creation of guns from these materials, or their possession, and does not apply outside of Philadelphia. ★

SOME QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER IN THE HOUSING STRUGGLES

It seems that housing struggles are the new black. Anarchists and anti-authoritarians in Philly have become more visibly involved in eviction defense, squatting, camp defense, and support for houseless people than ever before. The following are some questions to ask ourselves as we continue to struggle against housing insecurity in all the forms it takes. There isn't a right or single answer to any of these questions, but pondering them can sharpen our thoughts and actions.

What are our goals participating in housing struggles? Do we want to contribute to new forms of anarchic, self-organized housing, like autonomous squats and camps? Are we more interested in simply disrupting the legal and property systems that make sweeps and evictions happen, defending camps, blocking evictions, harassing sheriffs and landlords? Do we imagine concentrating on a specific block or neighborhood, or taking a more diffuse

approach that isn't limited to one neighborhood? Is the focus on housing another attempt to find a rupture that can open into insurrection?

How do we want to relate to those we struggle with? Are we fighting for ourselves, to carve out spaces to live in, store supplies, and fight out of? Or are we struggling for others, to stop the system from continuing to further harm those already marginalized? Perhaps it's some combination of the two we're seeking — housing ourselves and finding accomplices who want to do the same, forming networks that can show up to open houses, fight evictions, and provide mutual aid around housing.

How do we understand the housing struggle in relation to other struggles? What would it look like to link the fights for housing to other fights? Can we connect the struggle for housing to gentrification, policing, or white supremacy? How much stronger would we be if we did? How much more spread thin? ★

DARK CLOTHES ATTRACT HEAT

It looks like summer could come early this year and early reports indicate it could be a hot one. When preparing for a long, hot summer, it's important to consider what to wear. This is particularly important these days. If last summer was any indication, you never know when you will find a riot right outside your door. For anarchists, wearing all black is often thought of as an outfit for any occasion. It might be time to consider other alternatives. Sometimes, instead of a black bloc, a grey or light bloc might be better.

This is not a critique of the black bloc. Every year or so someone forecasts the end of the black bloc, arguing that the tactic has worn out its use, conditions have changed, and it has become counterproductive. If the black bloc was to disperse in response to someone prophesizing its end, it would have long ago. What these predictions neglect is the very basic reason for the predominance of the black bloc: surveillance cameras. Every time someone says the black bloc is over for this or that reason, they are proven wrong and this is why.

The black bloc is one of the best forms of protection against video surveillance. But what the proponents of the black bloc often miss is that the black bloc is more than an outfit. The black bloc has become synon-

ture. It's basic economic logic, as that infrastructure would be a wash if it did not produce for at least that length of time. They won't willfully take a loss, as it is literally illogical from the market perspective. Even if some would, others won't, as they propel this dumpster fire of a situation farther forward, beyond several points of no return that we have continued to shout about.

If we want them to stop, we have to make them stop. They won't do it on their own. Certainly not significantly enough.

I could continue trying to convince you. Remind you of the proximity of smelting plants, incinerators, and landfills to the most marginalized aspects of the population. Poor, brown, black, indigenous — othered — but we should be past that. Civilization is poisoning us all, regardless of who it's closer to.

We are hearing more and more disinterest in those public proclamations claiming ownership of the streets, and more interest in tearing up that suffocating asphalt tomb. Similarly, the alternative to landfills is not shaming consumer habits nor littering, it is halting production. We've acknowledged that very few companies and institutions create most of the trash on earth, and as the saying goes, they "have names and addresses." The counter-insurgency project of this society, particularly the United States, has been terribly successful in rerouting energies otherwise, and even decentralizing its continuance so that one less CEO or politician does not crumble the empire. Still, they and their kingdoms are not a bad place to start. ★

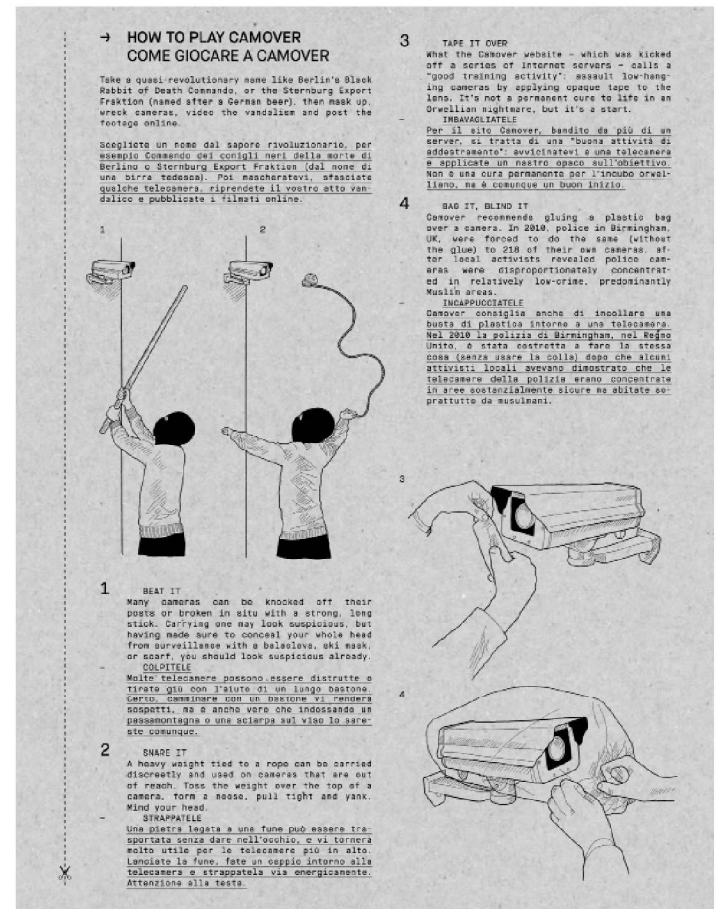
TO ATTACK IS AMONG MY INSTINCTS

The only ethical existence in this society is outside of the law. That's not to say that crime is inherently ethical, as there are plenty of heinous acts that are criminalized, but freedom is particularly criminalized beneath this suffocating society. Right down to how we feed and house ourselves must conform to capitalist notions of property and currency, requiring obedience to so many authorities. Abiding that law and order help maintain structures of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, settler-colonialism, hetero-normativity, speciesism, and much more. Reform is just the rearranging of faces or enforcement

within oppressive structures, whereas those acts that are liberating strike at the heart of their control — physically, emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually. Those means of physical control that are destabilized, in particular, enable so many more to also liberate themselves. If someone is not a participant in their own liberation, for that matter, it will never be authentic. Petty crimes may be a means of survival, or better yet enable future acts against society's control, but are not an end in themselves.

So many people are criminalized right from birth, and already find themselves in these battles without it being liberatory. We see it time and again with the police executions of black and indigenous peoples, with hyper-masculine executions of trans women and other femicides. The cycles of poverty keep so many from coming up, because otherwise the wealthy could not exist. The very notions of currency and property propagate these dynamics — the symbolic values of civilization — and they alongside mass society require policing to continue.

If we wish to live deliberately, rather than beneath the coercions and false auspices of this society, we can not remain civil — or anything that entails. We can abscond to the margins, finding fulfillment among ourselves, and attack this society as barbarian hoards until it's only potential value lies with archaeologists and their grave-robbing landfill obsession. Anything less is complicity in empire's massacres. ★



your emotional state, your mental state, so I feel like if I felt like that and I know there's way worse blocks than mine, if they got cleaned up they would probably feel a lot better." This is why many researchers have come to the conclusion that we need to reconnect with the earth – quite literally the soil beneath the asphalt, even. This is most often presented as taking breaks from work to come in contact with those natural elements, touching soil for the mental, emotional, and physical health benefits – only justified in the reports by increasing the worker's productivity, that likely destroys that soil, in turn. Activities worthwhile for their own sake become further commodified and confined by cringe-worthy terms like "earthing." Recuperation feeds the machine.

Landfills, cities and industry only further our separation from the earth. All of them forming distinct barriers between us and other natural elements, filling the land with trash, and reinforcing the misconception that we are separate from them. They divert water in destructive and poisonous ways, increasing flooding and leaching toxins into groundwater. These structures prevent nutrient cycling too – that is the breakdown and reabsorption of organic matter that sustains and promotes new growth. Composting is a reasonable alternative on a small scale, but does nothing when faced with ever-renewed production, particularly of inorganic materials on an industrial scale.

"It feels like a Manhattan trash heap in here," my roommate says. Their radiator seems to be broken. Even though the thermostat reads in the low 60's, the radiator is scalding hot. Trash generates heat. Asphalt retains it. Cycles of human-generated overheating persist.

The Fresh Kills landfill in Staten Island was closed in 2001 after threatening to become the highest point on the east coast, after some decades of operation. It was intentionally placed to smother wetlands in order to create firmer ground to build on. Many airports and malls throughout the area have also been directly atop wetlands, as they provide a large flat area to suffocate, though many of them have begun sinking in course. After closing Fresh Kills, the last of New York City's local landfills, their trash is now shipped elsewhere in the country – exporting the negative effects and responsibilities onto others, including in Pennsylvania.

Seven years later, a plan for a nearly thirty year construction project costing hundreds of million dollars began to convert the landfill into a city park. This "plan" consists of burying the trash beneath dirt and grass and dotting the horizon with chimneys to let the built-up methane from trash decomposition beneath the surface escape and potentially be collected for further fuel, in its own way illustrating the excess of maintaining society as it is. That's before noting that a great deal of plumbing infrastructure was built while the landfill was still operational to collect the rainwater that filters through the trash to be treated "through a variety of chemical and biological processes." The New York Times report continues, "The clean water is discharged into the Arthur Kill and the remaining sludge is dried, formed into cakes, and shipped to a landfill in Pennsylvania." Yes, the landfill is creating more trash.

PBS and NPR reported last year that oil and gas companies, as producers of plastic, were in on the ruse that plastic could be recycled. "Reduce, reuse" should be feeling more applicable right about now, as they're the only things resembling sustainable practices within the trifecta. The attempts to ban plastic bags in a few cities speaks to that acknowledgment, including Philly before it quickly suspended it when faced with the pandemic, but it's always been so much bigger than individual choices or authority's solutions. Standing downwind of an aluminum smelting plant could also begin to discourage faith in "green" industry, and other allegedly new deals.

The logic of legislation fills the landfills with worn out turbine blades and plots overthrows of foreign governments to maintain its latest toxic battery obsessions (i.e. lithium mines in Bolivia), reinforced by the logic of the market. The graffiti along the bike trail last month that read, "for sustainability, for freedom, against civilization," gets closer to the point.

It's well know that 70% of the world's emissions are generated by a small number of companies. Industry, and particularly the Pentagon, have toxic hands – thumbs pointed against the earth like so many emperors proclaiming death sentences. In kind, they are the largest creators and users of these products that litter the landscape – and regardless of increasingly intentional consumerism, it continues to be profitable and they continue their practices. Even if no new infrastructure were produced from this day forward, these practices would still continue 20-40 years into the fu-

ymous with wearing all black and a mask. In the United States, anarchists sometimes use the term "bloc" interchangeably with the clothes. Someone might say "You should throw away your bloc after the riot."

In case it has become necessary to explain, a bloc is not a set of clothes; it is the grouping or gathering of people, acting together for a common purpose. In the case of the black bloc, it is, of course, the group of people wearing all black. In fact, the group is what makes wearing all black protection against surveillance, confusing observers about who is doing what—it is not as simple as "no face, no case." This may seem obvious since everyone knows a black bloc isn't a single person. But when anarchists lose sight of the bloc as group and fail to consider what kind of group works best, it can defeat the purpose of the black bloc.

Sometimes the occasion calls for a grey or light bloc instead. Grey bloc and light bloc are two names for the same thing – I prefer to call it light bloc since "grey" incorrectly implies wearing monochrome grey. There is a lot of discussion about light bloc among anarchists but surprisingly little written about it that is readily available, so it might need explanation: like the black bloc, you cover your face, hair and other identifiable features, but, unlike the black bloc, you don't wear uniform colors or the same colors as other people in your bloc. The key is that your bloc is wearing clothes they wouldn't wear anywhere else (doubling layers to shed also helps). This shared set of tactics are what makes it a bloc. The light bloc tactic is especially useful if the gathering you want to join is a riot or other cases where your bloc wants to blend into a large crowd. The main benefit of shedding the all-black outfit is that your bloc doesn't appear as separate from another, larger group.

"Sometimes it is harder to pin down and there is just the feeling that the black bloc has become separated from the other people taking similar actions."

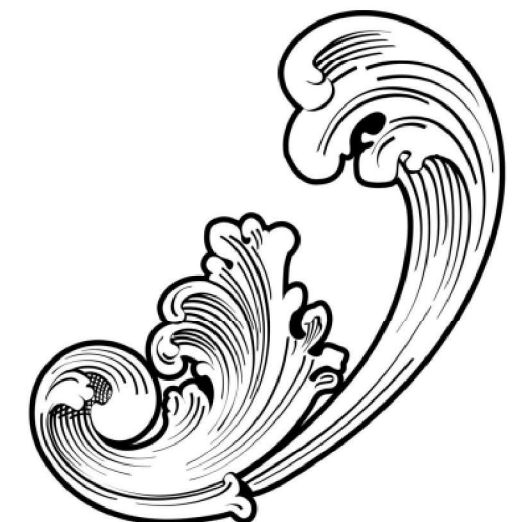
When to adopt light bloc depends, for the most part, on the group dynamics and the composition of the crowd. For example, your black "bloc" turns out to be just a small affinity group and, as a result, you can easily be singled out by police and pacifists. Or you arrive in a new neighborhood and find people there are suspicious, giving everyone in black a wide

berth. As a result, the bloc remains separated from the crowd. These are good occasions to consider a light bloc. In addition to internal group dynamics, you might consider a costume change when the police start preemptively targeting black blocs, making it more difficult to take the actions you planned.

Sometimes it is harder to pin down and there is just the feeling that the black bloc has become separated from the other people taking similar actions. Ultimately, the best way to learn the limits of black blocs is from experience. All this article is meant to do is remind you that there are alternatives, so you don't get stuck in a rut.

That being said, the all-black uniform has its use. Wearing indistinguishable clothes still seems to be the best dress code for confusing police, media, or whoever, and it shouldn't be cast aside lightly. At the same time, it's good to remember that black blocs are not foolproof. The police can still identify you with biometrics, use surveillance footage to track your movements, or employ classic methods like informants. This is made even easier if your black bloc outfit isn't all that different from your daily streetwear, you forget to cover your shoes, or you hang your teargas-infused mask in your closet after a long night. Clothes can be used as evidence no matter their color.

Like anything, light bloc is a calculated risk. Depending on the situation, what you lose in anonymity by wearing identifiable clothes can be regained by blending into a much larger crowd. A black bloc depends on the size of the group but it's a group that can be isolated, singled out, and surrounded. A light bloc can blur its own boundaries and appear to dissolve into a crowd. Consider adding some light clothes to your wardrobe this summer. ★



MORE THAN A THREE-WAY FIGHT

Whatever clouds gathered around the Capitol on January 6th have long since parted. No Storm — or coup, or insurrection — ever materialized. Now that the news cycle has moved on, it could be time to shed some light and reflect on what happened. Since the Capitol riot, anarchists have debated the significance of this event and speculated on the intentions of the rioters. While there have been fierce disagreements, there has often been a shared underlying assumption that we can treat this enemy as a unified crowd on a common mission. If pressed, most observers would admit that the crowd was made up of a diverse set of groups with opposing — sometimes incommensurate — goals. What gets trickier is holding this complex picture in mind when interpreting the riot itself. While anarchists can be certain that this crowd was made up of enemies, it is more difficult to assess what held them together and in what direction they are going.

The far right's next steps will likely be determined by the successes and failures of the "Stop the Steal" rally. However, their understanding of what they accomplished will widely differ depending on their intentions on January 6th and their ideological framing of the events. For some, it was probably an attempted coup. For others, it could have been a dry run or practice coup for when the time is ripe. Others still likely saw themselves as reinforcement to protect their rightful ruler, Donald Trump. All of these interpretations that have been thrown around and debated are likely true — because they can coexist. These competing visions converged on the Capitol steps accompanied by participants who aimlessly followed the crowd. Insurrectionary fantasies aside, the rally led to a riot that led to an occupation — a takeover of the Capitol.

I realize that the generic term "occupation" can be deceptive or risk downplaying the threat the occupiers posed to the Capitol. After all, some entered the Capitol armed with flagpoles, pepper spray, zip ties, tasers, and guns. Yet, there are two reasons to avoid the sensationalist media terminology like "insurrection" to describe this occupation: 1) these terms define the occupation only by its extremes, unifying the crowd under the umbrella of its most militant elements and 2) it equates any form of militancy with insurrection based on a pacifist understanding of an occupation. Anarchists can attend occupations

armed, but that doesn't magically transform an occupation into an insurrection. Of course, we should not equate armed anarchists with the occupiers of the Capitol since anarchists would have entirely different aims if given the opportunity to storm the Capitol. The comparison here is only meant to help illuminate the diversity of the crowd — against those who would see the Capitol rioters as generic "insurrectionists."

The rally at the Capitol might be better understood as part of the trend identified by Endnotes — following the theories of Asef Bayat — of the development of "non-movements." In contrast to a traditional social movement organized into a coherent collective, a non-movement is made up of a disunified group that takes a collective action. As Endnotes points out, this disunity can still be expressed through the presumed unity of a shared identity even without shared organization. Of course, Endnotes is concerned with oppressed identities and non-movements that struggle for liberation. But couldn't a similar descriptor be used to describe the white nationalists, western chauvinists, Christian fundamentalists, conspiracists, and militias that found a loose harmony in MAGA?

"Their obedient, bootlicking fetishization of hierarchy sometimes means we miss the ways they are decentralized and able to act autonomously."

In this way, what we face is much more than a three-way fight. That the far right tends to multiply battle lines would not, I think, be disputed by the authors who popularized the concept of a three-way fight. For these antifascist theorists, what is important is that the right is divided between a right wing loyal to the powerful and a far right that (at least currently) opposes them. For anarchists, this would mean fighting on two different terrains: against our enemies in power and the far right — a good reminder that the enemies of our enemy are far from friends. Yet it is difficult to place the Capitol riot in one of these two categories. For the proponents of the three-way fight concept, this event could be understood as the moment MAGA became clearly oppositional. However, the rally was, on some level at least, a pure expression of loyalty to the system, to the president.

Calling the Capitol riot a non-movement might imply a similarity to the horizontal, decentralized mass

movements seen on the "left" since at least the anti-globalization movement. This would be misleading, since part of what makes the far right decentralized is competing relationships to hierarchy. The fact that the far right is devoted to hierarchy is what, in my view, confuses observers into thinking of MAGA as a coalition with a shared goal. From this vantage point, the aftermath of the Capitol riot will be seen as in-fighting and a series of splits within a hierarchical movement. Looking at the Capitol riot as a non-movement means recognizing that these divisions were already there and the fighting is not between insiders. What this means is that the Capitol riot was never dependent on the harmony of its participants and, therefore, neither will their next action.

The fact that the far right can continue on somewhat unaffected by the divisions in their non-movement doesn't mean that this event won't change the shape of things to come. We can already perceive a changing relationship to the police. When footage taken at the Capitol initially circulated, many seasoned activists were shocked by the lack of police presence and speculated that white rioters would not be punished for their actions. While white people will predictably be treated preferentially by the American justice system, at least 420 people have been charged for their participation in these events. The arrests, plus the inevitable street fighting with police, will continue to lead more factions of the far right to an anti-police position. Will this unify far-right street demonstrations in their opposition to the police? Doubtful. The far right will likely adapt to anti-police elements within their ranks and employ this sentiment opportunistically whenever police stand in the way.

Ultimately, those who were shocked to discover that the far right can be met with police brutality and arrests will be less shocked to discover that the State's response to this event will be directed at "extremism" in general. It will come as no surprise when legislation and strategy supposedly designed to repress our enemies comes down on the heads of Black Lives Matter or antifa instead.

The State is predictable. The far right has a tendency to surprise their enemies. Their obedient, bootlicking fetishization of hierarchy sometimes means we miss the ways they are decentralized and able to act autonomously. We tend to see their actions as failed attempts to produce a unified, organized coup follow-

ing a traditional fascist strategy. Certainly, there are some among their ranks that see it that way too. But if we get distracted by the fascists' fantasies of what ought to happen, we might miss the power they discover in relatively horizontal and adaptable networks of non-movements. If there is anything definitive to say about a complex assembly in the Capitol riot, it is that they shared a willingness to experiment together to see what worked, whether it perfectly fit their ideology or not. We might see them try something similar again or they might experiment with something else. Either way, they — in some form — will be back.



PHILADELPHIA: ON LANDFILLS AND CITIES

Pumping hydraulics, grinding metal, crushing glass — I wake to the sound of garbage trucks. Peering outside I watch the workers empty recycling bins and trash cans, both, into the same truck. For it to be a charade they'd have to at least put them into different trucks. It's well known, though, that the city — and the whole United States — has had difficulty in recent years maintaining contracts for recycling programs. China long ago began refusing the already environmentally costly ships filled with plastic from the United States. Domestically, even towns that trash was shipped past by train have lodged complaints about smells and more, as landfills overflow across the planet. The way landfills cover the ground with human-made debris, in fact, is not so different from the way cities suffocate the earth.

Philadelphia was rated the "dirtiest city" in America, recently. Local sanitation worker Terrill Haigler took umbrage with this, taking it upon himself to go beyond the call of his already laborious duties and taking up a platform to "better the city." One person who already works in the most dangerous civil service profession in the country taking a great deal more weight of society's shortcomings upon his shoulders for the sake of aesthetics and pride — when, in fact, cities are no better than landfills. He embodies the overworked sentimentality of the non-profit industry, and the short-sighted conclusions of activism, without ascribing to either.

In his battle to overcome the litter in the city, Haigler did rightly say, "your environment can be attached to